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probability breaks down here, the individual event alone counts; and it may make the difference, for all time, between a high and a low civilization.

My second point of difference with Dr. Kroeber refers to the relation of a civilization to the chain of individuals who are its carriers. I grant that the civilizational stream may be considered as a closed system and that much can be gained from studying it as such. Dr. Kroeber, in his turn, grants that useful knowledge, even about the stream of civilization, may be gleaned from a study of its component individuals. But this is not going far enough. As a matter of fact, the civilizational stream is not merely carried but is also unrelentingly fed by its component individuals. The term "individual," in this context, requires specification. It is not the biological individual, nor is it the abstract being of general psychology, nor is it this or that more or less gifted individual; it is not even the average individual who partakes of the given civilization. The individual who counts here may be designated as the biographical individual. He is a historic complex *sui generis*. Neither *biological* nor psychological, nor civilizational factors exhaust his content. He has partaken of the culture of his social environment, but only of certain aspects of it, and these have come to him in a certain individual order, at certain definite places and times, and have been, on all these occasions, received and absorbed by a psyche that was unique. This is the concrete individual of historic society. He is unique and as such he reacts on the civilization of which he is the carrier. Leave him out, and a blind spot appears in the record of civilization. I am convinced that not along the objective study of civilization lies that "path of merely but deeply understanding phenomena," to which the author refers at another place. The inferiority of our knowledge of Kwakiutl or Yoruba civilization when compared to our knowledge of the civilization of France or Germany is in part due to the inferiority of the civilizational record; but it is also due, perhaps more significantly, to the vast inferiority of the biographical record. This is the crying need the modern ethnologist tries to supply; and to the extent to which he is successful, our knowledge of primitive civilization becomes more deep. A. A. GOLDENWEISER.

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THE STATUS OF WASHO

MR. JOHN P. HARRINGTON's announcement of the genetic relationship of Washo and Chumash (*American Anthropologist* (N.S.), 1917, p. 154) is welcome confirmation of a result which the undersigned had

independently arrived at, namely, the necessity of including Washo in the Hokan group established by Drs. Dixon and Kroeber. Specific Chumash-Washo resemblances had also been noted by the writer. That Chumash is a member of the Hokan group had been suspected by Drs. Dixon and Kroeber, further corroborated by incidental data advanced by the writer of this note in linguistic papers just published or soon to be published, and clinched by Mr. Harrington's previous announcement of the clear genetic relationship of Chumash and Yuman, a typical Hokan group of dialects. As for Washo, the writer has already gathered a quite considerable mass of lexical, phonologic, and morphologic data that, at least in his opinion, conclusively establish the Hokan character of this language. In grammatical respects, indeed, Washo would seem to be more typical of Hokan than Yana, which clearly belongs to the group (a paper on the status of Yana has recently appeared in the *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*). The writer hopes to reduce his Washo data to the form of a systematic paper before long. It is highly gratifying to note that far-reaching reclassifications of American languages are being independently and corroboratingly arrived at by students of American linguistics. Evidently the cautions that have been urged by certain more conservative students are not, despite their methodological excellence, exercising an unduly deterrent influence.

The Hokan stock can at present be stated to include Shasta-Achomawi, Chimariko, Karok, Pomo, Yana, Esselen, Salinan, Chumash, Yuman, Washo, Seri, and Chontal. A paper of the writer's, written some time ago, but publication of which has been delayed, undertakes to demonstrate the genetic relationship of the Hokan languages to the Western Gulf or Coahuiltecan group (Coahuilteco, Comecrudo, Cotoname, Karankawa, Tonkawa, possibly also Attacapan) recently set up by Dr. Swanton. It is very interesting to note that the territory separating Coahuilteco-Karankawa-Tonkawa from Yuman-Chumash-Washo is almost entirely occupied by Shoshonean and Athabaskan tribes, the latter of which are beyond all reasonable doubt an intrusive element from the north, while the former are only less certainly representatives of a relatively recent northward and eastward spread of Uto-Aztecan tribes from, say, southern Arizona and northern Mexico. The elimination of Washo leaves Yuki as the only Californian language that can be called "isolated." It is hardly to be expected that this privilege can be allowed Yuki indefinitely.

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